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Floyd W. Reeves, Issue Editor

The Contribution of the Federal Government

Walter D. Cocking 515

The Contribution of Private Youth-Serving Organizations

J. Edward Sproul 525

Planning Postwar Youth Work Programs Paul T. David 537

Planning for Secondary Education Warren C. Seyfert 546

Planning for Rural Youth Howard Y. McClusky 554

Planning for Negro Youth Robert L. Sutherland 562

Youth and the Future Charles R. Walker 566

Editorial, 509 Index, 570

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#### THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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# The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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#### **EDITORIAL**

How important is it that attention be given now to planning for the welfare of youth in the period of postwar reconstruction? The argument will be advanced on many sides that the future in a world at war is hopelessly unpredictable and hence that postwar planning is futile. It will also be said that postwar planning activities either by public or private agencies will constitute an unwarranted diversion of energy from the war effort. Personally I believe that these arguments are false. I believe that if we are to secure the peace for which we are fighting, we must begin to plan for it now, and that the work of intelligent anticipation of postwar problems must be continued steadily throughout the years of the war effort. Such planning activities would be justified if they had no bearing on all-out prosecution of the war, but it is obvious that they have an important bearing. Knowledge of one's goal and how to get there is indispensable to morale. And postwar planning helps to define both the goal and the means. As the American Youth Commission has pointed out, postwar planning especially for the youth of the nation is not only an end in itself, but an indispensable component of the will to victory.

It is the purpose of this special number of The Journal of Educational Sociology, devoted to postwar planning with especial reference to youth, to give expression to leading aspects of the

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problem through contributions from competent and experienced authorities in various fields. By way of introduction I shall comment briefly upon certain general principles and ideas, which in my opinion should underlie every specialized approach. I shall touch on these ideas under four heads: (1) integration of postwar planning for youth with over-all economic and social planning; (2) planning as a normal, continuous, and not exclusively an emergency function; (3) youth participation in planning; and (4) the stake of the nation in postwar planning for youth.

I. Planning for youth's needs and problems in the postwar world is obviously but one aspect of the larger planning problem which faces the whole nation. It is of the first importance, therefore, that while the special urgency—as well as the special characteristics—of youth planning be emphasized, it be viewed in the light of the whole economic and social problem which the nation must face at the close of the war. The investigations and the findings of the American Youth Commission in the field of youth employment is a striking illustration of the connection between the youth problem and certain basic economic problems faced by the nation.

It was natural that the commission which began its work in 1935, when youth unemployment was near its peak, should devote a substantial share of its energies to the subject of employment opportunity for youth in all its aspects. The commission made intensive studies of vocational preparation and guidance, for example, and investigated ways of improving the machinery for matching youth with such jobs as were available. Over a period of years it evaluated the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, which were providing employment for a portion of out-of-school unemployed youth not absorbed by private enterprise. All of these special studies increased rather than diminished the commission's conviction that the problem of youth unemployment—for any long-term solution—must be viewed as a part of the larger economic problem of full productive employment for

all age groups within the nation. To a discussion of this larger economic problem, and especially in relation to postwar planning, the commission has devoted major attention in its final report.

There has been created recently within the general over-all planning agency of the Federal Government the National Resources Planning Board, a unit devoted specifically to postwar planning for education and for other services for children and youth. Through the establishment of this unit, machinery is available to assist in integrating postwar planning for youth with over-all social and economic planning.

As I have suggested, however, there is reason to view the problem of postwar planning for youth as one of special urgency, and also to remember that youth both now and after the war has needs and characteristics not applicable to other age groups. Youth is the period when habits that tend toward physical and mental health are most easily formed. It embraces the years of formal and informal education for adult life, in all its aspects, including education in the spirit and practice of citizenship in a democracy. Not only in youth are physical energies and "animal spirits" at their maximum, but normally youth is the period of greatest impressionability and idealism. These are a few of the characteristics that distinguish youth and a few of the factors that recommend special consideration for our future citizens from the nation today.

2. Stress on the emergencies that will face the country after the war effort and discussions of how we can plan now to meet them has connected the idea of planning in some minds with the word "emergency." One result is that planning is regarded in certain quarters as a kind of *special function* which organizations take on when conditions are exceptional, or when "emergencies" are to be anticipated. This is of course a limited and distorted conception. Those of us who in our professional capacities are concerned with planning have always insisted that it is or should be a normal part of any administrative activity. The intelligent business enterprise,

the intelligent government department, the intelligent individual is always relating future actions to relevant day-to-day facts and desired goals. That is planning. Those concerned with the care and education of youth should not forget this basic concept. The planning process must not be confined either to planning for the immediate future while we are at war, or to anticipating postwar problems. Planning is, or should be, a normal day-to-day function and should be the preoccupation and practice of all youth-serving organizations for any orderly development of programs of action in time of war or in time of peace. Nor is planning properly—though it is often erroneously—associated solely with the Federal Government.

Such day-to-day and month-by-month administrative planning as is being done—or not being done—by every agency concerned with youth will have a direct bearing of course on the success of longrange planning efforts. If those efforts are to succeed, we must use as a planning base not only all relevant data which agencies like the National Resources Planning Board and the American Youth Commission, for example, assembled before December 7, when we became directly involved in the war, but all the data on youth and our changing economy which we are now gathering and shall gather during the years of the war emergency. The essence of a good plan is that it be right along general lines, but susceptible to rapid revision and adaptation in its details. What we plan and do for youth during the war will in very great measure determine what we can wisely plan and actually do for youth after the war.

3. It is fair to say that any planning agency that fails to secure the active and continuous coöperation of the principal groups vitally affected by that plan is doomed to failure in advance. Much of the bad repute in which planning is still held by segments of the American public is due to neglect of the coöperative and democratic nature of true planning. The same coöperative principle holds for effective postwar planning to meet the needs of American youth. Such planning must be not only for but by the youth of the nation. In saying

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this I do not mean that youth unaided can plan for itself the postwar world in which we must all live. Nor do I forget that a great deal of planning must be performed by technical agencies, and by persons with special kinds of education and experience which youth cannot possibly possess. But I do mean that in many kinds of planning youth can and should participate. There is abundant precedent for such participation of youth in community and even regional planning activities. And in all phases of planning, and at all levels, youth must feel that it is a partner with adult planners in working toward the solution of its own and the nation's problems.

4. Students of the rise of National Socialism in Germany have long stressed the fact that Hitler rose to power so to speak on the shoulders of a frustrated, disillusioned, and *unemployed* army of young men. None of us expects that the postwar period will reproduce for the youth of this country the tragedies of postwar Germany after World War I. Nevertheless, even under the most favorable circumstances, that period will put the nation and the nation's youth to a severe test. "Economically," in the postwar period, the American Youth Commission has pointed out, "the stage may be set for a period of deflation and distress. Politically, the tendency may be to let things drift, to attempt again to 'return to normalcy.'" At that time

we shall not be allowed to say that young people are to achieve life and liberty only by struggling successfully as individuals from a morass for which we are all economically, politically, and morally responsible. Our responsibility for action is clear. In some field of labor, private or public, at all times opportunity must be provided for young people to work in a manner commensurate with their powers, with a return sufficient to sustain life and the institutions of marriage and the home, and to secure advancement in responsibility and in the esteem of their fellow citizens. Nothing less will suffice.

In sum the nation's *stake* in postwar planning for youth is nothing short of national survival, and the continued progress and security

of the democratic processes of life. To quote once more from the American Youth Commission's comprehensive report, which, appropriately I think, has been entitled, Youth and the Future:

... National survival and progress look inevitably to the future, and must be concerned primarily with the young people who will be the America of the future.... It is the young especially who must have a true conception of democracy, of its moral basis, and of the results that attend its successful operation. To them democracy must seem to be worth every sacrifice and to offer the brightest opportunities for happiness and the good life. Otherwise, any effort to preserve it will be a waste of time.

FLOYD W. REEVES

### THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

WALTER D. COCKING

#### INTRODUCTION

The emphasis and discussion given to planning in recent years undoubtedly cause some people to think it is something new and different which has recently been devised. Such, of course, is not the case. Intelligent people have always planned. Planning might very well be defined as the application of foresight to one's activities. With the ever increasing complexities of modern life, people are more and more dependent upon one another. In contrast with "pioneer" days, planning concerns itself primarily with group forces and group needs. In times of extreme stress or great emergency such as those of the world-wide depression or the current World War, planning becomes even more urgent as a means of aiding the people's struggle for existence and their never-ending search for security and happiness.

#### THE PURPOSE OF PLANNING

Undoubtedly, as a result of the war, more and more fundamental changes will occur in our typical way of life. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the future, making use of all pertinent facts and endeavoring to interpret as accurately as possible every trend which points our future course. Here lies the job of program planning. It is as much of a vital concern to the nation as planning for the successful prosecution of the war. It is a continuous never-ending process. If we are to win the peace as well as the war, we must know now what kind of an America we should have after the war. We must appreciate and understand what is necessary to be done in order to give us the kind of a life we envision.

Planning involves every aspect of our life. It is not sufficient to

plan in certain areas, no matter how efficiently, and at the same time leave other areas to chance. It must involve agriculture, industry, labor, and all the services people need. It must include proper relationships of many kinds—between Federal, State, and local governments; between government and industry and agriculture; between management and labor; between sections of our nation; between our nation and other nations. It must provide indeed for the institution of the "good neighbor policy" to every segment and section of our life.

People under a democratic form of government, most of all, should plan for their own welfare. The essential safeguard is that all the people and all phases of our life should be included in the processes of our planning. There must be full and free interchange of views and ideas. Reliance must be put on facts. And finally, there must be a coördination of views leading to programs which represent the comprehensive development of plans for the ultimate good of the nation.

#### PROCEDURES IN PLANNING

How is planning done? It begins with a recognition and acceptance of purposes or objectives to be achieved. It involves inventories of what is being done now toward the achievement of these goals. It locates the deficiencies, difficulties, and bottlenecks which stand in the way. It uses research as a basis of discovering what works and what does not. It makes use of demonstrations to show what happens in the light of experience. It proposes alternative ways of achieving results, for ordinarily there is more than one way and several roads which, if followed, lead to the goal that is sought. It makes use of experience and technical skill in selecting the road or roads which should be used in a given enterprise. It then involves detailed designing of the chosen way or procedure. Then follows careful estimating of costs, personnel, materials, etc., in order to do the job. The people must have full and complete information so

that they may understand all features of the programs thoroughly. After all these things have been done, necessary legislative and administrative actions to put the plans into operation should be secured. These are the steps in planning procedure. They are, it is obvious, what any intelligent person should do before embarking on any undertaking.

#### PLANNING AS A FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT

Too frequently in the past things have just happened. People and their governments have simply resigned themselves to the laws of chance and expediency. They became creatures of a fate which they failed to order or determine. Often the effects from such a course have been disastrous and have caused whole series of strains and difficulties from which the nation has been extracted only after tremendous travail and the expenditure of great sums of money. The difference between a "good" and a "poor" automobile driver has been expressed frequently that the poor driver is always busy getting out of trouble while the good driver uses his efforts to keep out of trouble. The one plans in advance; the other, because of absence of plan, suffers and with him others suffer also.

Planning has as its main objective determining where one wants to go and what one wants to do, and how to get there and how to do it. Aimless wandering results from failure to plan. Intelligent government accepts long-time and continuous planning as a first principle in constructive procedure.

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### RELATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO OTHER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN PLANNING

The Federal Government possesses a most important stake in all planning enterprises. While it is true that America is made up of thousands of local communities and forty-eight States, it is also true that America is one nation indivisible. Many phases of American life cannot stop at State lines—they are nationwide in scope and

character. In the final analysis, such problems as commerce, taxation, housing, eroded soil, health, conservation of forests, transportation, distribution of the labor supply, the education of our people, and many others are national problems. Planning with respect to such problems is a national responsibility. It must be accepted as such. And so, encouragement should be given to the tackling of many problems and the search for solutions on a nationwide basis. Here lies one of the important functions of the Federal Government. It must plan and it must be encouraged to plan for the welfare of all Americans in order to preserve our heritage and provide for the security and peace and happiness of our children's children.

It is quite impossible, however, to pigeonhole every problem and issue and say that it is one for private enterprise, or local government, or State government, or Federal Government. Many, if not most, problems are and will continue to be a part of all of these. They do not wholly belong to any one level of government or to private enterprise alone. Take schools for an example. Certainly, local government has a large and real stake in the kinds of schools it should have, but so also do the State and Federal Governments. So, likewise, does private enterprise which will hope to use so much of the product of the school. The character of school opportunity in an isolated community may well shape both State and national interests. Schools are of concern to us all, and, therefore, are a part of our responsibility.

Planning in the final analysis is a coöperative undertaking involving all levels of government and private enterprise as well. That planning will be most wise and the resulting programs most sound and effective which result from the coördinated effort of all levels of

government and private enterprise.

Contrast, if you will, the situation in the dictator countries. The procedure outlined above would be totally out of place and out of harmony with their established order of things. The dictator determines by fiat the future for his country and all its people. What the

masses think has no place in politics for the future. "Theirs but to do and die" sums up the place and function of the people of a totalitarian state. And here lies the fundamental weakness of the dictator nations. National unity and coherence cannot be had "when the evil days come nigh" unless the people have had a primary place in the determination of policies and the conduct of affairs. On the other hand, the inherent strength of democratic nations lies basically in the fact that in the final analysis every policy and procedure stems from the people and their representatives. It is for this reason that democratic peoples are at their best when the going is hard, while totalitarian peoples demonstrate their greatest weaknesses. The recognized and frequently demonstrated truth of this condition lends a particular and peculiar urgency for a "full steam ahead" attack on planning now for the postwar future.

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#### ORGANIZATION FOR PLANNING IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In recent months machinery for planning has had a mushroom growth in the Federal Government. Several bills related to planning have been introduced in the Congress. Most of the major departments and agencies have established some formal machinery for planning. No one scheme of organization has been followed.

The National Resources Planning Board: The National Resources Planning Board is the over-all organization for planning in the Federal organization. It now has been in existence for eight years and is one of the major divisions of the Executive Office of the President. The National Resources Planning Board is responsible for over-all long-term planning in all areas which are in the national interest. The planning activities of all other Federal agencies are therefore closely related to the program of this organization.

Planning Organization in Federal Agencies: Organization for planning among the various Federal agencies presents an ever changing picture. Changes in policies and procedures are frequent. New organizations for planning are constantly being formed. It is

impossible therefore to portray accurately the total planning program of the Federal Government. Probably the best description to date is the one by Dr. George B. Galloway for the Twentieth Century Fund in a processed booklet dated October 1941, entitled A Survey of Institutional Research on American Postwar Problems. A revised edition is soon to be issued.

Galloway described briefly the planning setups in twenty-one Government agencies, commissions, and committees. The list of these organizations is as follows: Agriculture Department, Army Industrial College, Bureau of the Budget, Business Advisory Council, Commerce Department, Economic Defense Board, Federal Housing Administration, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Security Agency, Federal Works Agency, Labor Department, Library of Congress, National Resources Planning Board, Office of Inter-American Affairs, Post-Emergency Economic Advisory Commission, Selective Service System, State Department, Tennessee Valley Authority, Tolan Committee on Interstate Migration, Treasury Department, United States Housing Authority. In addition, planning setups are to be found in the Department of Justice, Federal Power Commission, Maritime Commission, Tariff Commission, Office of Facts and Figures, Office of Price Administration, War Production Board, and Office of Civilian Defense. Undoubtedly there are others.

An analysis of the descriptions given by Galloway causes one to conclude that while all the agencies listed are concerned with the postwar scene, there are vast differences in the scope and comprehensiveness of the plaining being done and in the methods and procedures employed. By way of illustration, the Department of Agriculture envisions planning not only in those activities directly a part of the agricultural process but also in various related activities such as health and medical care, roads, rural electrification, and schools. The department also follows the procedure of organizing its planning activities so that they are conducted simultaneously at the Federal, regional, State, and local levels.

The Department of Labor consolidates many of its planning activities in a division within the Bureau of Labor Statistics and devotes its attention primarily to conducting long-time research and statistical studies with a view of determining trends and patterns.

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The Army Industrial College appointed a committee of four officers which submitted a Report in May 1940 on the problems of postwar economic readjustment.

These are but illustrations of practices being followed. It is only fair to state that all agencies are zealous and serious in their attack on postwar problems. Undoubtedly much value will result from their efforts. It should be pointed out, however, that there is serious need for coördination of effort and activity so that planning may be integrated, unnecessary duplication and overlapping avoided, and consideration may be given to every aspect of a problem. It is understood that under the direction of the National Resources Planning Board, steps in this direction are now being taken.

Planning in the Federal Security Agency: In the Federal Security Agency definite provision for long-time planning has been made. In 1941 a Committee on Program Planning was appointed and given the responsibility of stimulating and guiding the planning activities for the services for which this agency is responsible. The membership of the committee is composed of representatives from the various constituent units which compose the agency. The chairman of the committee and its executive officer are members of the administrator's staff.

Some idea of the size and scope of the work may be had from the following facts. The Federal Security Agency includes the Public Health Service with State health departments in each of the forty-eight States, approximately two thousand county and local health units, plus many activities in connection with other departments of the Federal Government. The work of this unit intimately and realistically affects the lives of all the American people. The Office of Education is responsible for providing leadership, service, and

research facilities to the more than one hundred and twenty thousand school districts of America, the forty-eight State departments of education, the one and one quarter million teachers, and the some thirty million school pupils. The organizations for unemployed youth (CCC and NYA) seek to find and provide employment for youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. The Social Security Board is already providing services to more than thirty million Americans in the form of unemployment insurance, old-age and survivor's insurance, aid to the blind and dependent children, and employment service and guidance; and the number is constantly increasing. The nutrition division program affects the food knowledge and habits of more and more thousands of families; and the recreation division while giving its major attention to the military camps and war-industries areas also endeavors to aid the facilities in recreation for all the people. Such then are the areas for which the Federal Security Agency is responsible.

Most constituent units of the agency work through a State office in every State. These State offices in turn have local governmental units which are responsible locally for a given service. Thus, the entire planning procedure involves the local community, the State, and the Federal Government. In addition, assistance and coöperation are secured from many nongovernmental committees and groups. The resulting plans, hence, incorporate the thought and effort of the representatives of all groups and strata of our body politic.

#### RELATION OF PLANNING TO ACTION

When the war ends the world will be faced with many problems. So far as possible, these problems must be recognized now and tentative solutions found. The war will have been fought in vain if this is not done. Among the myriad of problems with which the world will be confronted are: demobilization of a wartime economy, conversion of war industries to peacetime production, providing full

employment for workers, establishment of sound fiscal policies for both government and private enterprise, establishing sound programs of education, health, social insurance, nutrition, recreation, and housing. Youth has a tremendous stake in all these and others.

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It is during these busy breathless days of war that plans must be drawn for peace—for those times after the horrible waste of war is no more. It is urgent to the success of the war effort that the mistakes of former war periods be avoided, and that definite and realistic programs for the future of America be made now. The American people should agree now in the midst of the war effort upon what sort of a world they are striving to produce in the years which lie ahead. And so it is necessary as a definite phase of the effort to win the war that Americans take steps at once to plan for their future and make possible the realization of their dreams in the heyday of tomorrow.

The days of opportunism and chance are gone never to return. In the America of tomorrow hopes and ambitions can be realized only through the coördination of intelligent planning and concerted effort. Our welfare in every line of endeavor and in every phase of life must be built upon the solid foundation of scientific procedure based upon a realistic understanding of conditions, situations, and motive forces. All must recognize this fact as we face the future. A look backward helps understanding. It is clear that more often than not, when the development of any enterprise has been left to chance, the results have been failure, debacle, and physical, moral, and mental bankruptcy. The growing complexity of national life in all of its many aspects makes long-time planning absolutely necessary for our security as a nation and as individuals.

When the war is over, therefore, there should be a whole series of programs ready for action which can be put into operation without delay. These programs should provide the American people with a pattern for action that will translate the war economy into a peacetime economy, will make provision for necessary employment, and

will ensure the development of services that are needed for our welfare.

#### CONCLUSION

It has been well expressed that "a major test of any culture is the extent to which it continues to offer its young people the challenge and adventure embodied in the age-old desire to build a better world." The major objective of Federal planning for youth is to guarantee for youth in the postwar period opportunities for useful work and service which their fathers and their fathers' fathers enjoyed. The welfare of the world will be fashioned to the extent to which youth everywhere find suitable expression for their desires and ambitions.

Walter D. Cocking is the Consultant in Program Planning in the Federal Security Agency. He formerly held administrative positions in public schools in Iowa; San Antonio, Texas; St. Louis, Missouri; and served for four years as State Commissioner of Education in Tennessee. Prior to 1942 he was dean of the College of Education at the University of Georgia. He was a staff member of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education, a member of the Science Advisory Committee of the National Resources Planning Board, and for some years has served as a Consultant of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE YOUTH-SERVING ORGANIZATIONS

J. EDWARD SPROUL

Nongovernmental youth-serving organizations are very numerous. The directory prepared by the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education describes 320 of them. One fourth of these are organizations composed in greater part of young people themselves; the others have few or no youthful members but do devote a substantial part of their efforts to enterprises vital to youth welfare.

That organizations of the latter type perform most important public services will be clear from a moment's reflection upon the work of, for example, the American Youth Commission to one of whose studies reference has just been made. The studies and reports of this nongovernmental agency are already resulting in significant redirection of policy in both tax-supported and privately sponsored programs on behalf of young persons. A like comment might be made regarding the studies and recommendations of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, and the continuing work of the American Association for Adult Education, the National Recreation Association, and other important but less well-known bodies created for specialized leadership, research, and technical guidance.

It will probably be true for a long time to come that the major research efforts affecting the welfare of youth will be carried on with private resources and under the auspices of agencies not dependent upon government. It is most fortunate, however, that the more significant agencies of this sort are so constituted and so oriented that they may be expected to affect in large measure what is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>M. M. Chambers, Youth-Serving Organizations (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941).

done by the tax-supported services and public education. Government agencies will undoubtedly exercise leadership functions much more extensively than in the past; the character of that leadership should be a concern of all who are interested in youth.

This paper will be directed principally to the contributions of organizations of the other type, those composed predominantly of young persons themselves. Eighty to eighty-five organizations (depending upon some minor points of judgment) make up the bulk of agencies of national scope in this classification. They may be further described as:

General character-building organizations
Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant church
youth organizations
College student associations
Patriotic, political, fraternal, and labor groups
Agricultural and rural groups
Educational associations
Guidance and employment groups
Recreational organizations
Temperance, peace, and other special groups

The general character-building agencies, the religious organizations, and the student associations together account for nearly two thirds of the nationally organized societies and by far the greater part of the youth membership; they probably constitute what will come to the minds of most people as the meaning of the term, "youth organizations."

#### YOUTH-SERVING AGENCIES CHARACTERIZED

We may well be slow in generalizing about so diverse a group of organizations and their contribution to either wartime or postwar needs of young people. Each has its particular history and orientation and loyalties and standards.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> From Youth-Serving Organizations, with slight modifications.

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It may be noted, however, that all are, as has been pointed out, membership organizations. That is, they are more than services for youth. They ask more or less responsibility (financial and otherwise) and some degree of continuity in affiliation on the part of participants. In nearly all cases, even where there is a sizable adult membership, the young persons truly are the organization. Some make a great deal of their nationwide, even worldwide, character and hold "jamborees," meetings, and conferences that give reality to these relationships. In many of them the degree of youth leadership is large. The fact that this self-leadership is exercised within the framework of the purposes and accepted methods of the organization is beside the present point, which is that the relationship is of a very different sort from that involved in purchasing a seat for a ball game or using a piece of publicly owned property without, or with hardly more than, identifying one's self. Membership, where it is real at all, carries with it a feeling tone markedly different from being a student in a college or a regular attendant at one's family's church. These agencies, separately and collectively, are distinguished from public agencies in part by the nature of affiliation.

Moreover they are, nearly all of them, interested in character and character building. A commendable sensitivity has led many workers with youth to make less frequent use of these words in recent years; they did indeed often smack of a smugness with which it was hard to be patient. However, they state a fact that should not be missed. The organizations that enroll the largest numbers of youth are not seeking simply to fill free time or to provide facilities; each is motivated by devotion to some accepted or rather widely commended pattern of individual and social behavior. The vigorous life, balanced personality, interracial or international fellowship, interesting activity within a religious or cultural tradition, family and neighborhood solidarity are some of these orientations.

Again, these organizations quite consistently use small group life as the principal method for achieving their purposes. In recent years,

many of their leaders, working together in local communities and on the national level, have been elaborating the philosophy and methods of group work and group action until it is a rare thing today to discover a national youth organization that depends for its program primarily upon either the classroom type of experience or large-scale activities in which person-to-person relations are impossible to achieve.

These organizations, composed in large part of young persons, are in reality—with only a few exceptions—partnerships of the younger and more mature. This, I believe, is very important. They are not held together principally by emphasis upon the fact that they are composed of youth. Interest in the programs they offer or the educational and social purposes for which these are conducted provide the principal binding elements. Some investigators regard the presence of older persons as a handicap to a society of young people; others defend it with emotion as the one way by which adult values may be transferred to the young. An objective appraisal would be critical of too much adult influence or too little, but would find practical values of considerable significance in this association of younger and older for purposes important to both and to the community.

Certain other common characteristics may be noted briefly. The youth membership organizations are in large part financially self-supporting, even those with expensive equipments, but they are also to a considerable degree dependent upon the support of adult groups or of the community as a whole. The general character-building agencies are usually financed in part by community chests.

Also, they are quite honestly and candidly something less than all-inclusive in their aims and purposes and in their memberships. They enlist only a minority of the youth population. It is a distinguishing characteristic of a private agency, in this field as in others, that it serves interests that are not yet the interests of all and enlists in its activities and its support those who choose to enlist. This "free-

dom to associate" for good though partial ends is itself a cherished aspect of the American system.

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These partial purposes and minority constituencies, while they distinguish private youth agencies from public programs, do not operate automatically to push organizations into each other's arms; rather the opposite, as might be expected. It is only in recent years that the development of professional standards and a professional spirit, the diffusion of the insights of psychological, sociological, and medical investigation, the impact of the depression and war, and joint financing have led to much new coöperation and joint action. This new coöperation increasingly involves schools, other tax-supported agencies, the private agencies, and independent youth groups in over-all approach to the needs in communities. That it must be extended into the field of action is one of the most unanimously accepted conclusions about the strategy of wartime and of the postwar period.

We are thinking, then, about organizations in which (a) by contrast with transient contact, the member relation is stressed; (b) the development of character is an avowed aim, most often on a basis affected or determined by religious assumptions and values; (c) group life characterized by person-to-person interactions and differing from most classroom procedure is a principal method; (d) for the most part youth and adults participate together; (e) financial self-support is a large factor, although usually requiring adult or general community assistance; (f) purposes and constituencies are admittedly not all-inclusive; and (g) coöperative planning is becoming more and more a reality.

It seems very clear that the contributions of the private youthserving agencies to the wartime and postwar needs of young people, where they do not duplicate services that are essentially public, must in largest part grow out of the characterizing elements in their structure and their history which have been noted. These contributions must be the things these agencies have been learning how to do during the years of the great depression and the things they will yet learn how to do as matters of necessity during the years of this greatest of wars.

#### A FREE-TIME INFORMAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The contributions of the private agencies will undoubtedly continue to be made principally in relation to constructive use of free time. In saying this we must not, however, overlook the opportunity of privately supported youth membership organizations to act through their boards, committees, and adult and older youth members in support of soundly conceived tax-supported programs in relation to work, employment services, education, and recreational facilities. It should also be clear that a leisure-time program implies more than play. Recreative to be sure, but often educative and frequently exacting in its demands!

Free-time programs should be expected to meet several important needs of youth and to help them avail themselves of many opportunities. To enumerate them will indicate the scope of activities for which communities may well look in large part to these agencies.

1. Young people need opportunities for normal social experiences in groups in which they are fully accepted. Each of them needs something to belong to, and at least a few rewarding friendships. All the kinds of organizations listed at the beginning of this paper can and do provide this experience in some measure for their members. That there is a crying need to make this possible for a larger number of young people—that is, to create other forms of association and to make membership in existing organizations easier for those who find it difficult to join themselves to others—is too obvious to require underscoring. The private agencies can and should foster these normal, human relationships important for growth and for stability of character. They should be pressed to see that this need is more largely met even for their present participants. The precise activities should often be secondary to this friendship aim.

2. Youth needs the means for maintaining health. Nearly a half of the first two million young men drawn for national service showed up short

at some points. Many young people need stimulus to an interest in health—the stimulus that comes from congenial activity and sports groups or from challenging and respected leadership. Municipal, State, and Federal Governments have enlarged greatly the facilities for recreation open to young and old, but it is likely that the large contributions to planned physical conditioning for young persons over school age will continue to be made principally by the colleges and the privately supported commu-

nity organizations.

Physical conditioning is here taken to mean (a) locating drains on the system by medical and health examinations; (b) correction of poor health habits; (c) development of bodily vigor and resistance to fatigue; (d) a generally healthy outlook upon life. It will take more than facilities to encourage youth to accept the guidance and engage in the activities necessary to get and to keep in good condition in this sense. The whole matter requires skill, insight, and leadership. For much of what can be done in relation to physical conditioning and sports for youth, communities will have to look to the more imaginative leaders of the privately supported community agencies. These men and women will also be doing much to encourage larger utilization of the public, especially out-of-door, facilities.

3. Young people need jobs as soon as they have finished schooling. Some of the youth agencies know a good deal about jobs, job finding, and guidance. In the larger centers it will be important that they continue and expand their services in this field. It seems clear, however, that government initiative, plus modification of secondary-school and junior-college curricula, will be needed as the major lines of attack upon the job problem in the large. Private agencies will still be able to supplement these moves. In particular, they should be urged to make a much greater and much more significant contribution in guidance of individuals. Their ability to do so will depend upon the professionally trained leadership they are able to employ or recruit as volunteers for this purpose.

4. Young people need the means and the stimulus to continue their education beyond formal schooling and to adapt it to their changing life situations and problems. The voluntary youth agencies and the organizations composed exclusively of youth have, for example, gone long distances during the depression and in the present period to aid youth in getting at the facts and the guidance needed for marriage and homemaking; informal classes and study groups are increasingly common and they may well be greatly extended. Likewise, some of them now provide schooling for job adjustment or advancement; among the best schools for

young people and younger workers are some conducted by the agencies we are discussing and they probably should continue, at least so long as they maintain superior standards. Youth organizations have developed a wide variety of study groups, informal classes, and forums dealing with the national and world situation, the immediate problems of voting as beginning citizens, the use of money, and the interest of youth in other activities that are at once educational and recreational in character. They have learned how to utilize music, drama, the other arts, and sports for recreation and for growth in skill and self-respect. This postschool education in the art of living should be a major function of private agencies.

5. Youth need aid and encouragement in developing religious faith, and coupled with it a healthy idealism. It is clearly a mistake to plan for jobs, for education, and for the means of maintaining health, but to assume that an awareness of, some understanding of, the nature of God and the Universe—some satisfying relating of one's self to Ultimate Reality—can be achieved either by chance or by absorbing a smattering of the scientific spirit of the age. Too long have many of us thought of religion as merely an expression of pious hope for what ought to be, rather than as insight and then faith as to essential truth regarding Man and the Universe—and therefore what is both worthy of complete devotion and must eventually be! Young people need aid and encouragement not only in practical living expressive of wholesome religious ideals, but, following the recent necessary periods of clearing away underbrush, in reaffirming the essentially religious foundation of any civilization worthy of God or of man.

Here obviously is a task for nongovernmental rather than governmental agencies. That it need not lead in the direction of narrow sectarianism is made clear by a recent declaration of common elements of religious faith promulgated by a distinguished company of American Catholics, Jews, and Protestants.<sup>4</sup>

6. Young people need opportunities to develop new and worthy freetime interests: cultural, intellectual, religious, recreational, civic, social, and whatever. Opportunities plus stimuli—leadership! One segment of the New York State Regents' Inquiry, reporting a study among out-ofschool youth, revealed 16 per cent of a sizable group who, after naming one free-time interest, could name no second, and 64 per cent who could

<sup>\*</sup> See William E. Hocking, "What Man Can Make of Man," Fortune, February 1942.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Issued by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 1942.

name no third. Here is a field for initiative and leadership on the part of

the free-time youth agencies.

7. Youth need encouragement to engage in socially useful service or to accept some public, civic responsibility. Achievement of a democratic society, racial fair play, elementary civic honesty and efficiency, and world order will require both added study and devotion of time and effort beyond that now given by the average citizen. Many young persons are eager to make some contribution. The larger number, however, have either not been interested or have not found the channels through which an interest in community problems and national life can find expression. Often this is especially the case among the middle-class families from which come the largest number of the present members of private youthserving organizations. The agencies, happily, are alert both to the needs and to their own shortcomings. They are in a strategic position to provide both stimulus and opportunity for community service by young persons and for the study of American institutions and democratic theory needed for significant present-day action. To be of largest use, some of the agencies will need to find ways of giving their youth members greater freedom of action and of encouraging them to establish wider contacts with groups devoted to significant social purposes. Most of them will need to enlist among their lay officers a higher percentage of leaders of organized labor.

8. Finally, youth need aid in understanding themselves and in planning sensibly for their lives. This means solving personal problems of all sorts. They now turn in fairly large numbers to their group leaders, and to the full-time workers in the organizations, churches, and community agencies to which they belong. Somewhat better planning on the part of the agencies, with more extensive use of professionally trained people (as, for example, physicians are used to conduct physical examinations), would undoubtedly open up a much larger field of organizational service to baffled individual young people—a field which public functioning is unlikely to cover. For most out-of-school youth in need of guidance, the choice is usually between a friend, a social agency, or a commercialized service. School guidance programs, even where excellently managed, sel-

dom reach beyond school-leaving age.

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Special mention should be made of camping, in which the private youth-serving agencies have invested large resources and in which they have acquired considerable experience. Camp life provides a setting in which young people may pursue many of the interests and needs suggested above. Ways must be found by which more youth can be aided in availing themselves of life out-of-doors. Perhaps secondary schools should conduct summer quarters in the open, as some have urged, though it would be better to test this proposal with care than to press for large federal grants as the next step. In any event, camping as an aid to the meeting of the needs described should be encouraged in any sound planning for postwar youth needs.

The nongovernmental youth-serving agencies have a very considerable range of reasonably successful experience in meeting the needs of youth here described. They are agencies operating in the free time of youth, aiding youth to devote that time to interests and activities that enhance citizenship, and the quality of individual, family, and community life. This is their largest field of usefulness. They should be pressed to occupy it with ever increasing emphasis upon quality of work, personnel standards, economy in operation, and a larger measure of leadership by young people themselves. In addition, those organizations that are capable of making high-level contributions to vocational and cultural education through curricular schools should be encouraged to stay in this field, also concentrating attention upon quality of work and upon genuinely creative innovation.

Very many of the advantages to the community of private agencies come from their greater freedom to choose to give attention primarily to standards and quality and leadership. Other advantages should be conserved: their greater freedom to move to meet new needs and to serve as proving ground for new programs, their already noted ability to maintain religious perspective and to foster religious faith, their favorable position for advocating extensions of public services from a disinterested point of view.

#### PROBLEMS OF FUTURE POLICY

A major danger is that these organizations will reflect merely the attitudes and values of the social and economic groups most influ-

ential in particular communities or the nation. Obviously, if they are to make their most significant contribution, it must be by leading youth toward something much beyond class interests: toward a society free of class and race discrimination, toward a nation democratic in its social life and under truly representative leadership in both its economic and its political functions.

Other problems of policy, among many that might be catalogued, can be merely mentioned in conclusion.

Shall these agencies continue to stress their membership character or look for ways by which their activities and services can become available for all comers or try to do both in some reasonable proportions? Two very desirable values here come into conflict: on the one hand, continuity and responsibility in affiliation, often with a sense of nationwide or worldwide fellowship; on the other, service to larger numbers through activities and privileges planned primarily to meet community shortages and close-up needs.

Can these agencies encourage young people in their groups to share more interests, and the more significant interests, with each other? Antidotes to the specialization and dissociation characteristic of life at many other points, and also to the tendency to pursue the easier, more comfortable, less significant interests, are undoubtedly needed.

Finally, what proportion of the costs should the members and direct beneficiaries of the youth agencies themselves carry? How shall the services be financed in the long run?

The importance of community planning to protect and undergird the privately supported youth-service agencies has nowhere been more impressively stated than in the general report of the American Youth Commission, Youth and the Future:<sup>5</sup>

Voluntary community services, such as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and the Scouting organizations, do an immense amount of good and perform a unique function....

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942, pages 158-160.

Under the impact of the depression years the voluntary character-building agencies have developed a new capacity for self-criticism which is having far-reaching results. Almost every one of the major organizations has recently subjected its work to a searching inquiry. There is growing appreciation of the importance of evaluative studies and of basic research. The concept of group work as the basic educational technique underlying a variety of activity programs continues to be clarified and increasingly accepted, and there are many evidences of a growing professional solidarity among the workers on the staffs of the various leisure-time agencies. All this is helpful and indicates that even those organizations most encrusted by a wealth of tradition may be on the threshold of a period of renewed vitality. In the future they may achieve much greater usefulness than at any time in the past.

The Commission believes that it is of major importance to find some solution for the financial problem of the private character-building and leisure-time agencies. It would be unfortunate if such organizations were to be supplanted by public organizations of young people, governmentally

administered, supported and controlled.

Those responsible for community chest policy in the various cities, as well as private individuals who make contributions, may well give thought to this problem. Certain of the welfare functions which were formerly carried on as a form of private charity are obviously in process of becoming public functions supported through taxation. Regardless of its merits, this trend seems certain to continue. The Commission recommends that available private resources be reserved with increasing care for types of activity which should not be turned over to public administration, with special emphasis on the private voluntary agencies for youth.

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#### PLANNING POSTWAR YOUTH WORK PROGRAMS

#### PAUL T. DAVID

Many people have remarked in recent weeks that this is a war which we could lose. The way to win the war, however, is to plan and work for victory. Likewise, the way to win the peace to follow is to plan and work for a situation in which a true peace will be possible. There will be no hope of permanent peace in any situation where young people as they grow up are not allowed to flow steadily into normal adult opportunities.

With the war going as it is, this is not an easy time in which to plan for the postwar period. Yet it is at least conceivable that the war might be over in a few months. We hope with some confidence for victory no later than 1944. Even if the war does stretch on beyond that date, sooner or later we expect to bring it to a successful conclusion.

Obviously the postwar world situation will depend in great part on the character and extent of our victory. Equally true and only a little less obvious is the fact that our internal situation at the end of the war will depend very largely on the length of the war. The longer the war goes on, the more completely we shall reorganize our whole life on a war basis. Likewise, the greater the changes which will be necessary when we can begin to reorganize for peace.

At present, for example, between a quarter and a third of our productive effort of all descriptions is going into the war. Within the next year, if we are still at war, industrial conversion and larger military forces may make it possible to devote at least half of our total productivity to the war. Probably we shall continue to increase that proportion to some extent if the war goes on for several years.

It is difficult to visualize the changes in every aspect of life which must accompany the mounting war effort. Before many months, however, it will no longer be necessary to speculate. The changes will be present in every particular. After they have been stamped upon our consciousness by continuing for a time, perhaps we shall see how impossible it will be to return after the war to the conditions of 1939. The real necessities of our postwar situation may then be-

come somewhat apparent.

Meanwhile, we can and must begin our postwar planning. But, until we see our way more clearly, it will be necessary to think in terms of a wide range of possibilities. In particular, the probable extent of the need for youth work programs after the war will depend mainly upon the economic situation. It is possible to think in terms of at least four different levels of postwar economic activity. In each case the youth work programs which would be needed would differ not only in size but also in character.

The four levels of economic activity may be identified as follows: (1) maximum economic activity comparable to that in war, (2) high-level activity similar to that in the period 1924–1929, (3) mixed prosperity and unemployment, as between 1937 and 1939, and (4) severe depression and mass unemployment, as in the period 1930–1935. Most of the remainder of this paper is devoted to outlining briefly the type and magnitude of youth work program which would seem to be needed at each of the four levels of economic activity.

#### MAXIMUM ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Maximum economic activity is here interpreted to mean the kind of hyperactive situation which we should attain by next summer or fall, in which substantially every employable person is at work, there is an acute labor shortage for all grades of labor in all parts of the country, and there is continuing pressure for further expansion of production. Perhaps it is inconceivable that such a situation could exist in this country after peace returns. Probably it could be produced only by a continuation of central economic controls as drastic as those required for successful war. Acceptance of such controls during peace would not be likely to come about except under the

most urgent compulsion of necessity. There is no intention here to indicate that such a situation would be a desirable one.

If the situation did exist, however, it is obvious that any need for a youth work program would not arise out of unemployment. Any large-scale youth work program would be organized, if at all, in pursuit of other objectives, such as the mobilization of young people for national service.

Probably there would be a place for a relatively small-scale youth work program which might enroll as many as 200,000 young people annually for periods of a few months each. Such a program would specialize in providing services for two distinct but related problem groups: (1) the youth who are distinctly substandard in their readiness for adult responsibilities, and (2) the youth who are geographically isolated in rural areas which lack both educational and employment opportunities.

For some of the youth who are substandard in employability, a continuing improvement in the vocational and other services of the schools may eventually provide a sufficient program. Others of the unready youth will doubtless have a greater need for medical and dental care, for a diet to remedy their nutritional deficiencies, for a regimen of physical activity, recreation, and sleep which will rebuild their personal habits, or simply for the experience of participating in a productive enterprise under the conditions of actual employment long enough to get the feel of the working world. Many of them will need all of these things.

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For such youth, it will be a long time before a school-centered program of vocational education can provide a sufficient answer. At present, the nearest approaches to a suitable program are to be found in the work-centered programs of the CCC and NYA. So far, however, these agencies have not made great progress in adapting their programs to the special needs of the youth who are most unready for adult life. It remains to be seen how rapidly they will adapt under the pressures of the current situation.

#### HIGH-LEVEL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

With high-level economic activity, we should have full employment for competent adult workers and conditions of general prosperity, yet with relatively short working hours and with no driving pressure for the last ounce of production. This is, in general, the kind of peacetime situation we all hope for. Something approaching it might possibly exist for a few years even with little conscious effort to bring it about, as during the boom years from 1925 to 1929. Or it might be the result of a successful effort to achieve full employment on a continuing basis but without pushing the effort so vigorously as to endanger democratic processes.

A considerable amount of youth unemployment could exist in the midst of such a situation. Practices of seniority seem likely to gain strength with the rising average age of the population. As such practices operate under most conditions, they tend to concentrate unemployment among young people. Union control over entrance into occupations and rising standards of minimum-wage legislation may have similar effects.

Even with high-level employment, it is possible that as many as 500,000 young people annually may need opportunity on a youth work program which will give them work and wages for periods ranging from six months to two years. Most of these young people will be 16, 17, or 18 years of age. They might well be used on a wide variety of conservation, construction, and service projects.

#### MIXED PROSPERITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Those who expect us to return after the war to the "normalcy" of 1939 in effect expect us to return to a situation in which large parts of the population were comfortably employed and remunerated, but also in which national economic policies were less than completely successful and several million competent adult workers were still unemployed.

It would seem impossible for such a situation to endure in the future for any considerable number of years. It can never be regarded as a satisfactory situation; on the contrary, there may be great disagreement as to what should be done, but there will be relentless pressure for experimentation with the central economic controls whenever visible evidences of improvement are not forthcoming.

If and when such a situation does exist, the need for youth work programs will be substantially the same as that of recent years. If we do our duty to youth, moreover, we shall not merely repeat the CCC and NYA activities of the late thirties. Rather, we shall utilize the experience of those years to build suitable programs on a much larger scale.

An enrollment of 2,000,000 youth would seem almost a minimum for an adequate program under such conditions. For most of those youth, moreover, the program should provide full-time employment, although related educational activities should be provided for those who can and will profit from them. As the American Youth Commission has remarked, "Most unemployed youth do not want a half-time school program, and some of them do not need it."

### SEVERE DEPRESSION AND MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

Some people seem to expect a postwar depression which will exceed in severity the worst days of 1932, with utter breakdown of economic life and half the population unemployed. The reasons given for expecting this disaster are seldom clear, consistent, or even fully rational, but in general there is fear that the readjustments required in the postwar transition will simply prove too much for us. The mounting public debt, the inflationary possibilities, and the lack of confidence in any form of central economic planning all add to the fears of many people.

The specific difficulties of the postwar transition period will undoubtedly be great. There is the possibility of a sharp depression resulting from conversion unemployment when war production

stops. Twenty million workers in war production could become twenty million unemployed persons almost overnight if the war comes suddenly to a successful conclusion.

Nevertheless, so far as the transition period is concerned, unemployment on any large scale need not persist any longer than is necessary to reconvert the industrial equipment of the country to peacetime productive activity. We are currently demonstrating how rapidly conversion can take place when it is carried forward with united energy and vigor. Plants which were originally built to produce automobiles, radios, and refrigerators can be returned to their original purposes in less time than has been required to convert them to war production.

If the postwar economic situation does prove unmanageable, it will be only because of our difficulty in reaching agreement on how the situation must be managed if it is to be managed successfully. Undoubtedly there will be controversy about how rapidly to shut down war production, about the continuation of wartime economic controls, about postwar fiscal policies in relation to price levels and the public debt, and about the future course of our international policies, economic and otherwise. The extent of all these controversies will doubtless depend in great measure on the general shape of world affairs at the end of the war, as well as on the timing of the political calendar in this country.

Obviously the outcome of so many imponderable factors is completely unpredictable. Certainly it is unsafe to assert dogmatically that a catastrophic postwar depression is impossible. We can say, however, that such a depression can come only as the result of the most completely incompetent handling of our national economic policies on the part of the American people.

It may seem absurd to plan remedies for the anticipated result of failure to plan intelligently. If, however, we do let ourselves fall into the pit of mass unemployment, probably we shall be compelled to revert to public spending for work programs on an immense scale. So far as youth are concerned, the need for youth work programs in such a case would be far greater than the need in the recent depression years. In the conditions of chaos which could prevail if mass unemployment is permitted in the postwar period, a program of public work for youth which challenges the imagination and provides an outlet for skill, energy, and initiative might be the only possible substitute for the violent forms of action to which young Americans would otherwise be tempted to resort.

#### THE RANGE OF PLANNING

These brief notes on four possible levels of economic activity indicate the range within which planning for youth work programs must go forward. As our first line of defense against youth unemployment, we need plans for postwar youth work programs which can be operated on a flexible basis to provide for enrollments which might fluctuate between extreme limits of perhaps 100,000 as a minimum and 4,000,000 as a maximum.

As the program fluctuates in size in response to general economic conditions, moreover, it must also change in character. The smaller the total number of unemployed youth, the lower their average age and the more likely they are to be somewhat lacking in maturity, physical fitness, and general ability. On the other hand, the larger the number of unemployed youth for whom a program is needed, the higher their average age and the more closely they will approach the average of the whole population in typical characteristics.

The great range of uncertainty within which we must plan emergency measures for the future arises mainly from our inability to predict the degree to which we shall be successful as a nation in managing our economic affairs. During the ten years before the war, most of us lost confidence in the way in which the economic system functions when left alone. On the other hand, we were unable to

reach agreement on how we might take control of the situation. Controversy centered particularly on the so-called spending policy of the present administration, and its economic implications.

The spending policy was continuously legislated by Congress because of the obvious pressures of needs which could not be denied, but it was also defended in the highest academic and intellectual circles as a mechanism which, with some adaptation, might be used to give direction to our entire national economy. More recently there has been a developing wing of opinion, equally intent upon positive action but distinctly less reconciled to large-scale deficit financing, which has been primarily concerned with plans for ending peacetime unemployment by securing the balanced and continuous expansion of employment in private industry.<sup>1</sup>

In its report, Youth and the Future, the American Youth Commission has definitely associated itself with the group committed to planned industrial expansion as the principal solution of our employment problem in future times of peace. Probably the commission is the first substantial group of citizen laymen to take so advanced a position on so fundamental a matter. The commission's exposition of its views on this point and of the reasons for reaching them is not easy reading, but, to those who ponder it well, it may prove an invaluable preparation for civic leadership in the times ahead.

Meanwhile, readers of this article who have not yet had opportunity to examine the commission's report may be particularly interested in some of the commission's major assumptions as to the economic future, within the framework of which the commission

For a current discussion of the merits of planned industrial expansion vs. large-scale public works, see National Planning Association, Guides for Postwar Planning, Planning Pamphlet No. 8, November 1941.

See Chapter V of the report, "The Problem of Full Employment."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The first major exposition of such a plan was provided by Mordecai Ezekial in \$2500 a Year (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1936). His more recent book, Jobs for All Through Industrial Expansion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939) is a simpler presentation of the plan in somewhat revised form.

formulated its recommendation on employment policy for youth. The commission assumes:

That the changes in the basic structure of the American economic system which have taken place during the last fifty years, and which in some cases are now being accelerated, will not present insuperable barriers to the achievement of peacetime full employment but will undoubtedly make necessary many fundamental readjustments.<sup>8</sup>

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ubamThat for some years after the war, efforts to achieve sustained peacetime full employment through the expansion of private employment will be only partially successful, and that meanwhile it will be necessary to carry on substantial programs of public work for the unemployed.

That because of necessity the trend both during and after the war will continue toward an increasing use of government to regulate economic affairs and in particular that government will be given increasing responsibility for the peacetime stimulation of a balanced expansion of productive activity in the basic industries producing for interstate commerce.

That under democratic government and without giving up the liberties we prize, the American people will have it within their power to bring about a continuing abundance of available employment opportunity in future times of peace, with a rising standard of living for all who contribute to the productive effort of the nation.

In stating these assumptions, the Commission does not assume either that we are completely at the mercy of fate or that we shall reach our desired goals without sacrifice and effort. It is assumed that the American people will continue to exercise their native qualities of good will, courage, and foresight, and that progress will thus continue toward the realization of the American dream of universal opportunity in a land of peace and freedom.

Paul T. David served as chief economist and associate director for research for the American Youth Commission for two and a half years. He was formerly secretary of the Advisory Committee on Education and a member of the staff of the President's Committee on Administrative Management,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This and the following paragraphs are quoted from Mr. Young's introduction, Youth and the Future (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942), p. xvii.

# PLANNING FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

### WARREN C. SEYFERT

No one can describe exhaustively the social and personal needs to which our secondary schools should be prepared to minister in the postwar years. Nonetheless, certain of these needs begin to be evident, at least in gross outline; and now is not too soon for our schools to prepare for the adaptations of function and methodology which they surely must make if they are to contribute in any observable measure to national reconstruction. Traditionally, American secondary schools have lagged a generation or more behind the society they are intended to serve, as regards both their social philosophy and the implementation of this philosophy. This lag, which in times past has been contemplated with complacency and, on occasion, pride becomes increasingly less tolerable. A nation which has marshaled its every effort and resource to the winning of a war and is turning these powers with equal thoroughness to the winning of a peace will be most unlikely to be sympathetic toward an educational anachronism-a secondary school still twenty years behind the times.

It seems probable, as viewed from the present vantage point, that the demands of the postwar years will influence our secondary schools in at least four major ways. In the first place, our schools must be ready to exercise wider functions and greater social responsibility than they have in the past. It may be that these functions and responsibilities are already embryonic in our local and national educational undertakings and that reconstruction will only serve to bring them more into demand and into sharper focus. In any case, planning and preparation are necessary. Paralleling changes in function and in part causing them will be changes in the character and dimensions of the population to be served by the school. An educational institution which remains content to gear its policies to the traditional concept of what constitutes the "secondary-school

population" will be sadly out of step under postwar conditions. Furthermore, radical changes in educational methodology will be needed to deal effectively with these new functions and the modified school population. Finally, our secondary schools must be ready and willing to give their instruction a social orientation essentially different from the one which has marked and continues to characterize

their philosophy and teaching.

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The end of the war, whether it comes suddenly or gradually, will pose the monumental problem of occupationally rehabilitating the men and women in the armed forces and in war industries. It would be absurd to suppose that our secondary schools will be expected to handle this problem unaided and alone; but they certainly will be asked to share in its solution and they must be ready to undertake their portion of the responsibility. Involved in this rehabilitation will be occupational guidance, retraining, and placement. It is probable that of these three areas the schools are and will be best qualified to contribute in the providing of vocational guidance. Our schools have made noteworthy progress in the development of the theory and practice in this field. But if they are to serve postwar needs adequately the prevailing custom of restricting the guidance services of the school almost entirely to young people still in school and those recently graduated will have to be sharply modified. Our school guidance departments now lack the experience and the informational background for counseling mature adult workers. They also ordinarily have not perfected the contacts and administrative machinery for working effectively beyond the secondary-school level. Even among thoughtful school people there currently is the feeling that those school systems which have made starts in the direction of extending the resources of their guidance staff and equipment to the adult community at large have little justification for pursuing this policy under present circumstances. This conclusion almost certainly is in error; and, more than that, present circumstances offer an unsurpassed opportunity for developing and validating in a comparatively leisurely environment the community guidance policies and practices which will be in demand in the reconstruction years. It is probable that there is no one job of postwar planning that our secondary schools can undertake more confident of the importance of the task and of their ability to do the task well. So clear will be the need for occupational guidance for a large fraction of our adult working population that if our schools are not fully prepared to exercise the leadership rightfully theirs, other means will be found for rendering the service. The latter outcome would hardly serve to preserve general confidence in the social utility of the public schools.

Occupational guidance under postwar conditions will make little sense unless it is accompanied by ample and adequate opportunities for occupational retraining. Just as at the present time, so when the war is over many agencies will have to coöperate in the organization and administration of a training program, but the schools with their equipment and personnel will occupy a crucial place in this phase of the rehabilitation program. Perhaps our schools cannot for the time being take positive steps to design this retraining program, but they should set for themselves the responsibility of examining the operation of the current large-scale training program by way of learning as much from it as possible, and for preparing at least preliminary sketches for the postwar program. Occupational retraining is education, and the educational profession should be a primary source of ideas for the meeting of this social need.

Finally in the area of occupational rehabilitation are job-placement needs. There is already a growing recognition of the school's responsibility for helping young people to make their initial job adjustments. Our secondary schools should zealously pursue their efforts to coöperate efficiently in the matter of placement with public employment agencies in order to have ready effective community and national organizations to meet postwar demands.

Although the demands of our armed forces and of industry will

reduce our secondary-school and college enrollments in the immediate future, the return to more peaceful times will in all likelihood not only restore our secondary-school population to somewhere near its present size but will also renew the demand for secondary education beyond the twelfth grade. Presumably not all of our high schools can and should endeavor to add instruction of junior-college level, but a very substantial number of our communities which have thus far ignored their responsibilities for providing higher education at public expense will choose to or be forced to do so. It will be well worth the effort of those interested in secondary education to begin now to study the educational, administrative, and financial questions involved in a postwar expansion of public junior-college education.

Our war efforts are demonstrating the benefits, both physical and spiritual, of genuine group action. The need for coöperative planning and doing on the part of American communities surely will not lessen with the conclusion of hostilities. Our secondary schools ought to be ready to serve not only as training centers for cooperative skills but also as sources of ideational leadership. Such leadership of course cannot be seized but must be earned. The experiences of the war years ought to give the schools abundant opportunities to prepare themselves to exercise real community leadership in postwar society. Perhaps it is only saying the foregoing in somewhat different language to point out that the years immediately ahead are going to demonstrate unmistakably the essential soundness of the community-school idea. Secondary schools that earnestly desire to plan to be of maximum service under postwar conditions should push with all possible speed their efforts to integrate their activities with those of their communities.

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No doubt there will be many other extensions of function which our secondary schools will be called upon to make during and after the war, but the illustrations given should be sufficient to indicate the nature of the direction these extensions are most likely to take. The work of the schools with boys and girls will certainly be modified, but the most striking difference between present schools and those of the future will be the degree of their concern and responsibility for affairs not now ordinarily thought to be any business of the schools, nor even "educational" in nature. This reorientation of pedagogical ways cannot be brought about overnight. It must be planned for and worked out over a period of years. To begin this preparation now is to start none too soon.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that in the future our secondary schools must be less insistent than they have been in the past upon existing in social isolation. This applies not only to their relations with other agencies in their own cities and towns but with social and educational agencies on a national scale. For example, it would make very little sense to plan for occupational rehabilitation on the individual community basis. Schools must be willing to take part in a national effort which, naturally, will have its local aspects but which nevertheless will not permit of complete local freedom to act or not to act. Jurisdictional disputes in social action are as intolerable in postwar planning as they have been in bad taste during recent years.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that our secondary schools must be ready at the end of the war to deal with a "school" population rather different from the traditional school group. Leaving aside the shifts in size of the regular student body, our schools will be called upon to work both in and out of the school with men and women more mature in years and experience than high-school pupils now are. It is also probable that postwar adolescents will have a less naïve and sheltered outlook on life than our boys and girls have today.

Because the schools will be working in part with adults, it will no longer be possible to think of the student body only in terms of those who can spend every school day from nine until three in the classroom. We must be set to adjust our administrative practices to the needs and convenience of a large number of adults who want shortterm instruction and who can come for that instruction only at times now thought to be outside the normal school day.

It is also obvious that our customary methods of instruction are likely to be received with little enthusiasm by our postwar pupils, young and old. Conning antiquated textbooks and going through other academic exercises will hold small appeal for boys and girls and men and women who are living and working in a world which is being remade before their eyes. The emphasis that the war is placing upon action, upon the realities of life, upon the future rather than the past will make our favorite sedentary educational methods wholly unacceptable. Our secondary schools are slowly breaking away from these methods, but they must have been left entirely behind if we are to be ready to handle the problems of reconstruction. It is especially desirable that the schools take every current opportunity to develop plans for administering work experience, community service, and other activities combining productive work and learning. Time is short and the need is great, so that the extended contemplation and bickerings with which new educational methods are ordinarily received should be abandoned and a more receptive and open-minded attitude toward newer educational ways substituted. This is not to urge the abandoning of all caution in changing educational ways, but a society in the process of reconstruction will have little patience with a profession that is not actively searching for new ideas and new methods.

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sshe Perhaps what has been said about the widening functions of secondary education has given the impression that there is comparatively little that needs to be done by way of planning for the postwar education of boys and girls. That surely is not the case, and the exercising of new functions by the schools will unavoidably have its influence upon the core of our secondary-school program—the instruction of adolescents in ways of effective living. But we must not be content merely with having our basic instructional program

modified somewhat indirectly; there are positive steps which ought to be taken as well. The space of this article does not permit the setting forth of many of the necessary curriculum changes, but two of these are deserving of brief note. In the first place, the postwar world will be some form of international world. American boys and girls, as well as adults, have never been exposed to a genuinely international point of view. They know little and care less about the economic and cultural life of that part of the world which lies more than a few hundred miles away from their own homes. To our people, international relations are bounded by tariff problems, diplomatic intrigue, and war. Our thinking is fettered by the nationalistic bias which has characterized the social, literary, and artistic instruction in our schools and colleges. Breaking down this parochial outlook must be a part of our postwar planning for education.

Secondly, our schools have always been chary of dealing with the problem of values. Educators have prided themselves on their intellectual approach to all matters, on their leaving decision making to their pupils. But this war is being fought over differences in basic assumptions—differences in theories of values—and the peace will be made in the same manner. As long as we refrain from making a bold approach with our pupils to the question of what things are of most worth in this world we are excluding our pupils from experience with an area of living which perhaps of all areas is the most important. The war is going to leave all values, even the "American way of life," open to discussion. Young people as well as grownups must be equipped and disposed to take active parts in the reformulation of personal, social, and political values while the war is on and, more especially, when the war is coming to a close. This is not to suggest that our secondary schools proceed to set up systematic courses in philosophy and ethics. This would certainly be the wrong way to attempt to meet the need. What more productive means of attacking the problem are should be made the subject of educational experimentation forthwith.

As was stated at the outset, not all of the circumstances under which secondary schools will be called upon to operate at the end of the war can now be foreseen; and many of the details of the unavoidable postwar problems are still uncertain. These factors should not restrain our school workers from looking ahead and preparing to meet such needs as can now be anticipated. Teachers and administrators customarily lack the skills and organizations for effective long-range planning, so that whether or not the solution of every postwar problem has been planned at least some measure of experience in carrying on coöperative preparation will have been acquired. Hence, the schools will be in a more advantageous position to adjust themselves with dispatch to current and unpredicted conditions.

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# PLANNING FOR RURAL YOUTH

#### HOWARD Y. MCCLUSKY

The international crisis is casting America in a role of unparalleled significance, demanding mobilization of all our resources to meet the demands of a growing destiny. One of our greatest resources, youth, are already major actors in war. And they will be equally necessary in postwar reconstruction.

Planning for rural youth in reconstruction may seem to imply an invidious and unwarranted distinction. Why plan for rural youth as a separate group, when the needs of all youth, urban and rural, are fundamentally the same? Both groups need jobs, both look forward to the establishment of their own homes, both have talents to train, both seek the enrichment of their leisure hours and require physical fitness for the demands of living.

On the other hand, while their basic needs are identical, their circumstances differ. Moreover, rural youth are more numerous and have more in common with one another than their city cousins; yet provision for their welfare is relatively so meager that a separate consideration of their problem is appropriate.

The farm is literally the cradle of the nation. If the nation had to depend on cities for the maintenance of its population, it would be extinct in a few generations. According to the 1940 census, the replacement rate of cities was .76, which is 24 per cent less than the rate required to maintain the population at a stationary level. The rate for rural nonfarm areas was 1.10 and that for farm families, 1.36. In 1940 there were 1,000,000 more young people under sixteen years of age in rural than in urban America, in spite of the fact that the number of adults between twenty-five and sixty-five in urban America exceeds the number in rural America by 14,500,000. One fact is inescapable: rural youth are important because there are so many of them, and because within the predictable future they will replenish the declining stock of the city.

# PLANNING FOR THE OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL YOUTH

If America is to play an important part in feeding the world in the days of reconstruction, rural areas must be organized to expand opportunities for youth. The establishment of a large number of farm youth on farms therefore becomes a goal of major significance. A few generations ago this goal was more easily attained than it is today. Land was plentiful and virgin. The standard of living was modest and the expanding economy of a new nation gave relative stability to farm life. But today the free land is gone, and the land that is available has not been falling into the hands of young people at the rate it once did. In Ross County, Ohio, only five per cent of the farm operators are under thirty years of age, and in Randolph County, Illinois, twenty-five per cent of the farms are managed by men sixty-five years of age and older.

Moreover, more capital is required to start farming than in former generations. The construction of farm buildings, soil conservation, the purchase and maintenance of equipment are too often beyond the financial resources of the young man in the average farm family who wishes to strike out on his own. In some cases this difficulty is being overcome by father-son partnerships, but, since farm families are usually large, there is a limit to the number of partnerships which the average farm can absorb. There is every prospect that such difficulties will increase unless vigorous steps are taken to assist rural youth to become established as independent operators.

The beginnings of a procedure of assistance are appearing in the enlightened policies of some private financial institutions, farm organizations, and in certain programs of the United States Department of Agriculture. These developments should be expanded until rural youth everywhere may be encouraged to undertake the normal risks of farming without an exorbitant handicap.

But the establishment of farm youth on farms is only one part of the occupational adjustment of rural youth. "The number of farm

boys who reach maturity each year is more than twice the number of farms that fall vacant annually through retirement or death of older farmers. . . . It seems likely that for some years to come from 300,000 to 400,000 oncoming farm youth, boys and girls, will annually become available for non-agricultural employment." This group of hopeful but unguided rural youth represents one of the tragic blind spots in the services of society. Up to the present time, the leaders of rural agencies have generally by-passed any realistic attack on this problem. They have apparently proceeded on an assumption that only the welfare of youth who remain on farms is the obligation of rural agencies, whereas those who migrate are outside their concern. On the other hand, towns and cities are not without blame. They have no social machinery to receive their unsolicited guests. As a consequence, migrant rural youth drift in a no-man's land of neglect, catching on as they can to the chance that lies close at hand.

Planning to fill this gap will require two general types of programs. One is an investigation of the aptitudes of farm youth for farming and the occupational opportunities in the labor market to which the rural youth migrate. The other is the expansion of programs in which leaders of rural organizations, schools, and the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service collaborate in a program of guided migration for rural youth.

#### PLANNING FOR THE EDUCATION OF RURAL YOUTH

Of all our public services, the education of rural youth has been one of the most uneven. At their best rural schools are excellent, at their worst, they are scandalous, with the average far below that of the city. In any case, the reconstruction of America cannot afford the waste of resources permitted by the present level of rural educa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Youth and the Future (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942), p. 14. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>\*</sup> Howard M. Bell, Matching Youth and Jobs (Washington, D. C.: American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 1940).

tion. The curriculum of tomorrow's school for rural youth must upbuild the values of rural life. A third-rate imitation of an urban program should no longer be tolerated.

There is beauty in woods, streams, and fields. There are abiding satisfactions in the struggle of man to harness nature. There is wonder in the processes of growing things. There are ethical and creative implications in the sequence of seedtime and harvest. There are latent virtues in the neighborliness of the rural community and an integrity in the interrelations of the farm home and the farm.

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An opportunity for the attainment of these values should be celebrated in the literature, geography, history, social studies, games, language, and mathematics of tomorrow's rural school. An appreciation of such values will not only deepen the roots of those who remain on the farm but will strengthen the spirit of those who go to the city. In the critical days of reconstruction, America will need the organic stamina that comes from the experiences of rural life at its best.

Education must plan more and more to help rural youth build happy and strong homes of their own. Farm youth marry earlier and have more babies than their city cousins. Moreover, the unity of home and farm life presents problems and opportunities requiring special parental skill.

The rural school must also pian to give greater attention to education for occupational adjustment. In addition to an extension of training for productive agriculture, a type of general vocational education must be devised to take into account the growing mechanization of the farm and the urban future of many rural youth. The object of the training will be a technical versatility applicable either to the farm or the factory. In this way rural youth may obtain minimum preparation for occupational opportunities in the city as well as in the country. Although this type of job training will be a tough assignment for the school, it must be undertaken to overcome the inadequate vocational education of farm youth.

Plans must be formulated to help rural youth learn to feel the togetherness of rural life through the use and structure of the school building. The building should be the center for the social and recreational life of the community. It should include a gymnasium-auditorium for public meetings, shops for mechanical and practical arts, and rooms for crafts, music, and reading. It should be located on grounds ample enough for sports and festivals with space left over for crop demonstrations and beautification projects. The building should also be the home for the activities of such agencies as the departments of public health and welfare, agricultural extension, library, and farm organizations. In fact the building and program of the school should embody a coördination of the total educational resources of the rural community aimed at an enriched life for youth and their elders.

While a reorganization of administrative units should go far toward paying the costs of these proposals, candor forces an acknowledgment that additional financial aid will be required. In view of the inequalities existing everywhere in rural America, this aid can come only from supplementary State and Federal funds. But the objective of this aid should be that of upbuilding rural life by encouraging local autonomy and by organizing the school district along the lines of the natural neighborhood. The last two precautions will attain great significance in the days of reconstruction as a corrective of the trend toward centralization of all governmental functions which necessarily will have been accentuated by the war.

### PLANNING FOR USE OF LEISURE TIME

In anticipation of the backwash of demoralization of public standards which always follows war, plans should immediately be formulated for the development of wholesome social and recreational life in rural areas. Studies of the American Youth Commission reveal that in prewar days not more than twelve per cent of the youth be-

tween the ages of sixteen and twenty-five in rural America belonged to any organized group. The churches, 4H Clubs, Junior Farm Bureau, F.F.A., and every other relevant agency must be enlisted to break this bottleneck of nonparticipation.

Library services, recreation institutes, folk festivals, rural museums, music, and crafts should be multiplied. If these things are good for a minority who often have so much, how much more important are they for the vast majority who frequently have so little? Not until we realize the possibilities of rural America can we comprehend the enormous waste permitted by not developing our cultural resources for rural youth. And not until we ponder the dawdling idleness and the tawdry forms of urbanized recreation which, unless diverted, will sweep the country in a period of postwar relaxation, can we know the necessity of planning *now* for the leisure time of rural youth. All relevant nongovernmental and governmental agencies must converge on this goal, for much of the strength which rural youth will require to cope effectively with the problems of reconstruction will depend upon the character of their social and recreational lives in the critical days that lie ahead.

### CONTRIBUTION OF YOUTH TO COMMUNITY LIFE

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But no plan for rural youth in reconstruction would be complete without great emphasis on the contribution that youth themselves can make to the postwar period. Society is full of strange contradictions in its disposition toward youth. In peace it regards the contributions of youth as secondary. For example, less than two years ago about four million young men and women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five were out of school and out of work. But in war, their contribution is primary, so much so that the nation drafts their services. We cannot therefore escape the question: If youth are important for war, why are they not equally important for peace? But if the history of adult attitudes is any clue to the future, an equi-

table answer to this question will not be possible unless plans are made specifically to enlist the contribution of rural youth in reconstruction.

This contribution may be secured in two ways. One consists in taking older youth into partnership with adult enterprises and making room for their effective participation in an attack on the serious problems of society. In such an event, wise and friendly leadership will be required to make youth feel at home with their elders. And while adults are not skillful and are rarely interested in taking youth into partnership, it is possible to do so and, when accomplished, is usually an unqualified success.

The other method is to encourage youth to form groups for the solution of their own problems with adult assistance. The outcome of the rural project of the American Youth Commission and the experience of the American Country Life Association contain ample

evidence that such an approach may be productive.

There are no obstacles to the utilization of the peacetime contribution of rural youth which intelligent leadership and determined planning will not overcome. And in these critical days when youth are generously offering their lives for the defense of democracy, a promise of partnership in postwar reconstruction would be not only a token of appreciation for their great sacrifices, but also a mark of faith in the value of their contribution.

But our confidence in the ability of rural youth to contribute significantly to the solution of their own problems and those of society should not blind us to the tough fact that policy with regard to services for youth are under the control of adults. So planning for the welfare of rural youth during the period of reconstruction will end in a blind alley unless ample provision is made for the enlistment of wise and friendly adult leadership.

The needs of rural youth and the resources to meet those needs are multiple. The results of the rural project of the American Youth Commission demonstrate emphatically that fundamental planning for the welfare of rural youth must involve a coördinated attack of many agencies and resources. The problem is too complex and its scope too wide to be confined to the program of any single organization. This does not mean that each agency must wait for the program of every other agency before undertaking its portion of the general task. Important as coördination of effort is, the operation of separate agencies is better than the inactivity that might result from a reluctance to perform in advance of over-all planning. Moreover, some agencies like agricultural extension, the schools, churches, and farm organizations have such a great stake in the care of rural youth that they should push vigorously ahead with plans in this field. But an adequate program for rural youth will not be achieved without planning for an over-all collaboration of every relevant resource available to a community. As a minimum measure, this would require an agreement among germane State and national groups to coöperate at the community level in behalf of rural youth. This step alone would produce great gains in the mastery of this problem, but, in addition, special steps should be taken by the appropriate agencies for the initiation of a coördinated approach to the enrichment of opportunity for older rural youth. Lacking this provision for overall planning and coördination the best any agency can do will be fragmentary and incompetent.

Rural youth are among the prize resources of the nation. Now and in the coming days of reconstruction society will need the best they can give. But society cannot expect the best from rural youth unless rural youth have a chance to develop their best. To this end society must be sincere and heroic in formulating plans for the development of the utmost contribution of which rural youth are capable.

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# PLANNING FOR NEGRO YOUTH

#### ROBERT L. SUTHERLAND

Since in time of war even words should be economized, the conditions indicative of the present status of Negro youth will be listed without a preamble. After this list is given, suggestions for a program of action designed to improve the status of Negro youth during this period of rapid social change will also be listed.

- r. The proportion of Negro volunteers and selectees in the Army who have come from northern States is much higher at the present time than during World War I. Since these Negro youth have been influenced by compulsory education laws and by good educational opportunity they represent a social level much more comparable to that of the white soldiers than was true in the last war.
- 2. Also the Negro soldiers from the southern States are superior in educational attainment to those of the last war, and they more nearly approximate the educational levels of the white soldiers.
- 3. For the most part, Negro soldiers of both the North and the South are stationed in southern camps, and are supervised by southern white officers.
- 4. In the last war, no Negroes were admitted to the Marines, none to the Navy, except in the rank of mess boys, and none to the Air Corps. In this war these conditions are gradually changing. The Army is more liberal in some of its practices; the Navy has finally agreed to admit Negroes to other work than that of mess boys; and, of special interest for its immediate as well as for its symbolic value, an air corps has been formed whereby Negro youth may be trained in mechanics at Chanute Field in Illinois or as pilots in Tuskegee, Alabama. When enlistment was first opened to Negroes in the air service some recruiting centers failed to secure their quotas of applicants. Either the Negro leaders failed to inform their youth of these opportunities, or the youth thought the announcement was too good to be true. Now, however, the number of applicants regularly exceeds the quotas and the first class of pilots is being graduated from Tuskegee.
- 5. Although the nation is facing a serious labor shortage, few defense industries have altered the traditional policy of relegating Negro workers

to lower caste jobs as janitors and day laborers. Industry is removing its taboo against women workers in machine and other skilled operations, but it does not yet seem willing to train the great reserve of Negro laborers for these operations. There are exceptions but no general trend in this direction.

- 6. The federally controlled defense training courses do admit some Negro youth but the opportunities for such training are still limited and the response of Negro youth has sometimes been disappointing. Furthermore, the employment service faces the problem of placing in defense industries Negro youth who have completed their training courses.
- 7. The Office of Production Management under the influence of President Roosevelt stated clearly the Government's policy against racial discrimination in defense employment; nevertheless, noncompliance with this policy is reported in many of the States.
- 8. The general labor shortage which is causing a rise in wages in many types of work has brought little change in the wages of Negro workers because caste restrictions keep them from entering the new jobs. With a surplus of Negro domestics, farm hands, and laborers in southern States, Negro youth are still working for low wages which in terms of real wages are lower than ever because of the rise in living costs. If the general labor shortage becomes sufficiently acute, wages and employment opportunities for Negroes can be expected to improve somewhat in spite of caste restrictions, and in spite of the new labor supply of women in skilled industries.
- 9. In World War I there were few Negro leaders who challenged discrimination in the military service and in defense industries. Furthermore, the educational level of the Negro youth was generally so low that there was little awareness of these problems. In this war, however, many Negro youth are sufficiently well educated to be aware of these problems, and there are more outspoken Negro leaders who are voicing protest.

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In light of this multiplicity of forces, what are the ingredients of a plan for the orderly improvement of the status of the Negro youth during the war and after? The combined efforts of all will be needed if the employment, the educational, and the other opportunities for Negro youth's development are to be expanded during the war period and the period of postwar reconstruction. The following set

of recommendations are listed in an effort to give a well-rounded approach to the problem:

- r. All organizations interested in preserving and increasing the freedoms of democracy and all organizations concerned with the special question of race relations should take every opportunity to include "Negro Youth" among their topics for public discussion.
- 2. Organized groups should invite Negro specialists to appear on their programs as a demonstration of the Negro's ability to succeed according to traditional American standards.
- 3. Leaders in the various phases of economic and community life should introduce new patterns of race relations within the areas of their special influence.
- 4. Every private organization, whether it be community, state, or national in its scope, should observe how government officials and agencies deal with race relations in their sphere of work. Those government agencies and officials who have introduced more equitable practices should be encouraged and their example followed in non-governmental activities. Those who have not helped to develop more just methods of including all the people in their programs should be petitioned and in other ways urged to take the leadership which is expected.
- 5. Encouragement should first be given to organizations within the Negro group which are already striving for an improved status for their own race.
- 6. All private and public welfare organizations—health, mental health, social, political, educational, occupational—which are dealing with youth problems should include on their planning staffs and in their service organizations trained persons who know the implications of these problems for Negro youth.
- 7. Regional Negro youth conferences, institutes, or seminars should be held at convenient locations throughout the country as work sessions for representatives of all youth agencies and all types of social planning commissions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These recommendations are taken from the second part of the volume, Color, Class and Personality (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942), which was prepared by Robert L. Sutherland as a summary of the Negro youth studies of the American Youth Commission.

8. Specialized institutes dealing with particular questions of employment, housing, education, and health of Negro youth should be called to provide still more detailed information to those private and public leaders who are planning for certain needs of Negro youth.

9. In-service training of a more thoroughgoing nature than the institutes or conferences just recommended should be provided for those staff members of private and public agencies who are responsible for work with Negro youth.

10. Schools of social work, teacher training, and government service should recognize the critical problems of Negro youth by providing special courses of instruction as a part of the regular curriculum for all of their students, and advanced work should be given for those who wish to specialize in Negro youth work.

11. Popular ways of presenting facts about Negro youth should be devised.

12. A foundation, a state department of education, a state school for Negro education, a private college for Negro education, a group of social agencies, or a combination of these agencies should establish a new type of guidance center for Negro youth in which the complete personality development and adjustment of the individual is the center of interest.

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# YOUTH AND THE FUTURE

CHARLES R. WALKER

All the leading recommendations of the American Youth Commission issued from time to time, and now summarized in a final report, Youth and the Future, have acquired added urgency since our direct involvement in war. All or nearly all have a significance for the kind of world youth will live in after the war, and a direct bearing on the problem of planning for it now. In a statement adopted January 15, 1941, after reviewing the past recommendations of the commission, and making new ones relating to the national emergency, the commission remarked:

Some social gains only increase the standard of living of the beneficiaries, important as that may be under normal conditions. Other social gains pay their way by an equal or even greater contribution to national strength, both in times of crisis and in other times.

In a more peaceful period, most of the proposals and recommendations of this statement might have been brought forward in the spirit of welfare and reform. At this time they are brought forward because of a very real belief on the part of the American Youth Commission that every proposal and recommendation here made will contribute definitely to the *strength* of *America*—not, perhaps, in sixty days, but significantly within a year, to a major extent within three or four years, and very greatly within ten years.

The most important of the findings and recommendations of the commission over its six years of existence have fallen into the major problem fields of education, health, and employment. In the field of education, after intensive and extensive research, the commission recommends drastic revisions in the present system of American education. It has urged particularly that work experience be made an integral part of the education of all American youth, and that both work experience and continued instruction in reading be made a regular part of the curriculum of all secondary schools. It urges that "social studies" be taught with modern methods and that far greater emphasis be placed upon them in the secondary schools,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Youth and the Future (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942).

where the bulk of the nation's youth is registered. These are a few of the changes the commission believes imperative if we are to train for a citizenship capable of meeting the problems which now face us and the equally acute ones that will challenge the nation in the years following the war. The commission has stressed the importance of the institution of marriage in a changing world and has recommended that instruction and guidance in marriage and family problems be included as part of the secondary-school curriculum. What is the bearing of such educational revisions upon war and postwar planning? "The primary motive of any program of national defense," the commission insisted as early as 1939, "is to protect our freedom and our democratic institutions. In this respect, education is established in public policy, not as a secondary interest, but as the first line of defense against that internal breakdown which in many nations has proved to be even more dangerous than external attack."

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If dangerous and acute inequalities in educational opportunities are to be abolished and if we are to train all youth to meet the challenge both of the war and the postwar period, the commission has become convinced that Federal aid to our schools is now necessary, and that "even under war conditions it is essential that some financial support for the removal of educational inequalities be provided without further delay."

Finally, if we fail to implement during the war years urgent steps, now long overdue, we shall later lack both the morale and the organizational machinery with which to work in the postwar period. Planning in the educational field would then lose reality and be tantamount to wishful thinking or to postponement.

The field of health may also be cited to show the bearing of commission findings upon postwar planning. On January 15, 1941, in a statement entitled "Next Steps in National Policy for Youth," the commission recorded and reiterated its belief, "that there is need for a nation-wide health program on a scale never before attempted in this country." It added, "that for success such a program must have

some financial support from the federal government." In its final report the commission declared that the actions it had long advocated in the field of health today were even more urgent than before, in views of the present military emergency.

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A long-term and comprehensive health program would embrace children and youth at all age levels, with emphasis upon nutrition, physical training, recreation, and adequate medical care. But calling special attention to the fact that one half of the young men called to the colors under the Selective Service Act have been rejected as unfit, the commission recommends in addition the immediate establishment of rehabilitation camps for the reconditioning of those rejected for military service. It is obvious that many of those disqualified for the Army because of physical defects, many of which are remediable, will be less efficient in civilian pursuits as well.

Apart from the pertinence of earlier and more general recommendations for the present emergency, the commission over the past year has collaborated directly with the National Resources Planning Board on postwar planning for youth. As a result, many of the recommendations in the commission's final report are specifi-

cally orientated toward this problem.

The commission has focused its knowledge of employment and of economic trends on the probable situation of youth in respect to productive and useful employment after the war. The history of youth employment in the past has shown that in periods of rising general employment youth is absorbed rapidly. In periods of declining employment, the youth sector of the population suffers more acutely than other age groups. For example, during peak unemployment in the thirties a third of all the unemployed were young men and young women under twenty-five, although youth constituted only one sixth of the population in the labor market. The commission predicts that with a demobilization of military forces and of the war industries, a large percentage of the soldiers and workers who will need new jobs will be under twenty-five years of age.

The demobilized group will in itself be a "youth problem" until it can be assimilated into peace time pursuits. . . . Unless we can find and adopt more effective policies to promote full employment than those tried experimentally during the 1930's, a piling-up of several million jobless, inexperienced new workers seems very likely to happen in the coming years after the war.

To increase the effectiveness of all Government agencies having to do with the care of youth during the war and after, the commission recommends that the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration be combined within the Federal Security Agency into a single administrative unit whose mandate would include close liaison with all other public and private agencies having to do with the welfare of youth. Such an organizational step would immediately simplify and make more efficient planning now for the difficult postwar problems of youth.

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The commission recommends that public youth-work programs be continued throughout the war in at least skeleton form. First, because such programs are now performing very necessary defense activities, and, as in the case of the CCC fire-fighting groups, may become still more vital as our total war program develops. Second, because after the war public-works programs for youth will play an enormously vital role in rehabilitation, vocational training, and in the provision of jobs for large numbers of demobilized soldiers who cannot then be absorbed readily into private employment.

In whatever direction one turns, the commission is convinced, planning for the future needs of youth is planning for the future of America and the survival of our democratic institutions. It would be tragic if we failed to apply the lessons in preparedness for war—learned with so much cost and suffering—to the equally urgent questions of preparedness for peace and for postwar reconstruction.

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### **INDEX**

Adult Education for Civilian Defense, By Arthur Jess Wilson, 339.

Angell, Ernest. Civilian Morale: Democracy's New Line of Battle, 383.

Baker, Willis M., and Landess, William M. Education for Sustained Regional Productivity, 160.

Bateson, Gregory, and Mead, Margaret. Principles of Morale Building, 206.

Biesanz, John and Mavis. The School and the Youth Hostel, 55.

Bishop, Eugene L.; Leonard, Raymond F.; and Little, Malcolm G. Community Education Improvement Under the Impact of the Construction Program, 149.

Book Reviews, 61, 125, 254, 313, 377, 442, 506.

Boom Towns of Defense. Special issue, April 1942, 445-508.

Brown, Francis J. Editorial, 65, 317, 381.

Challenge to American Women, A. By Rhoda E. McCulloch, 301.

Church as a Socializing Agency, The. By Paul B. Horton, 46.

Civilian Morale. Special issue, December 1941, 193-256.

Civilian Morale Agencies in War and Peace. Special issue, March 1942, 381-444.

Civilian Morale: Democracy's New Line of Battle. By Ernest Angell, 383.

Clapp, Gordon R., and Menhinick, Howard K. The Approach of the TVA to the Solution of Regional Problems, 136.

Classroom, The—A Defense Unit. By Paul R. Hanna, 369.

Cocking, Walter D. The Contribution of the Federal Government, 515.

Cole, William E., and Lund, S. E. T. The Tennessee River Valley, Its People, Resources, and Institutions, 130.

College in the Present Emergency, The. By Guy E. Snavely, 330.

Community Education Improvement Under the Impact of the Construction Program. By Eugene L. Bishop, Raymond F. Leonard, and Malcolm G. Little, 149. Community Facilities in Defense Areas, Providing. By Joseph LaRocca, 498.

Community Organization, Efforts at. By Fred K. Hoehler, 447.

Danger Points on the Home Front. By Edmond Taylor, 242.

David, Paul T. Planning Postwar Youth Work Programs, 537.

Defense and the Woman Worker. By Florence Hemley Schneider, 260.

Defense of Britain, Women in. By Anne Stewart Higham, 293.

Democratic Morale, Underlying Factors in.

By Marjorie Griesser, 414.

Dunn Loyle Friend The Poynder Mill

Dunn, Loula Friend. The Powder-Mill Town, 460.

Editorial, 1, 65, 129, 193, 257, 317, 381, 447, 509. Editorial Note, 382. Editor's Postscript, 306.

Education Fails in the Crisis. By A. W. Forbes, 348.

Education in the Adaptation of the Valley People to New Factors in the Environment. By George D. Munger, Carroll A. Towne, and Philip W. Voltz, 174.

Education, The War and After. By E. George Payne, 83.

Family, A Reservoir in Crisis, The. By Bernice M. and Harry Estill Moore, 279.

Farago, Ladislas. The Morale Offensive Against the United States, 229.

Federal Government, The Contribution of. By Walter D. Cocking, 515.

Farm Women Help Write the Peace. By Elizabeth B. Herring, 272.

Finlayson, Alice Bell. Social and Economic Background of Retarded Children, 38.

Forbes, A. W. Education Fails in the Crisis, 348.

Griesser, Marjorie. Underlying Factors in Democratic Morale, 414.

Group Behavior Dynamically, Measuring. By Louis H. Rohrbaugh, 3.

Guidance Programs, Reviewing the Results of Some. By Alice Pauline Stroude, 29.

- Hampton Roads—a Boom Area. By Lorin A. Thompson, 473.
- Hanna, Paul R. The Classroom—A Defense Unit, 369.

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- Hartford, Ellis F., and Seay, Maurice F. The Adaptation of Regional Research to Educational Uses, 185.
- Herring, Elizabeth B. Farm Women Help Write the Peace, 272.
- Higham, Anne Stewart. Women in Defense of Britain, 293.
- Hoehler, Fred K. Efforts at Community Organization, 447.
- Horton, Paul B. The Church as a Socializing Agency, 46.
- Hoyer, Raymond A. The Soldier Town, 486.
- Keller, J. O., and Pyle, H. G. Training for War Industry Through the Schools, 352.
- Landess, William M., and Baker, Willis M. Education for Sustained Regional Productivity, 160.
- LaRocca, Joseph. Providing Community Facilities in Defense Areas, 498.
- Leonard, Raymond F.; Little, Malcolm G.; and Bishop, Eugene L. Community Education Improvement Under the Impact of the Construction Program, 149.
- Little, Malcolm G.; Bishop, Eugene L.; and Leonard, Raymond F. Community Education Improvement Under the Impact of the Construction Program, 149.
- Lund, S. E. T., and Cole, William E. The Tennessee River Valley, Its People, Resources, and Institutions, 130.
- McClusky, Howard Y. Planning for Rural Youth, 554.
- McCulloch, Rhoda E. A Challenge to American Women, 301.
- McNutt, Paul V. Social Services and Defense, 69.
- Mead, Margaret, and Bateson, Gregory. Principles of Morale Building, 206.
- Measuring Morale, The Problem of. By Floyd L. Ruch, 221.
- Menhinick, Howard K., and Clapp, Gordon R. The Approach of the TVA to the Solution of Regional Problems, 136.
- Merrifield, Charles. Morale and the Planning Society, 421.

- Miller, Delbert C. Youth and National Morale, 17.
- Money for Morale: Opportunities for Foundations. By Raymond S. Rubinow, 404.
- Moore, Bernice M., and Moore, Harry Estill. The Family, A Reservoir in Crisis, 279.
- Morale and the Planning Society. By Charles Merrifield, 421.
- Morale Building, Principles of. By Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead, 206.
- Morale Offensive Against the United States, The. By Ladislas Farago, 229.
- Morale, The Importance of. By Arthur Upham Pope, 195.
- Munger, George D.; Towne, Carroll A.; and Voltz, Philip W. Education in the Adaptation of the Valley People to New Factors in the Environment, 174.
- National Defense, Women in. By Anna M. Rosenberg, 287.
- Negro Youth, Planning for. By Robert L. Sutherland, 562.
- Nelson, Janet Fowler. Editorial, 257.
- Payne, E. George. Editorial Note, 382.
- Education, The War and After, 83.
  Planetary Gangbusting. By Marshall D. Shul-
- man, 394.
  Pope, Arthur Upham. The Importance of Morale, 195.
- Powder-Mill Town, The. By Loula Friend Dunn, 460.
- Pyle, H. G., and Keller, J. O. Training for War Industry Through the Schools, 352.
- Reading List for Democracy, 430.
- Reeves, Floyd W. Youth in Defense and Postdefense Periods, 93.
- Regional Problems, The Approach of the TVA to the Solution of. By Gordon R. Clapp and Howard K. Menhinick, 136.
- Regional Productivity, Education for Sustained. By Willis M. Baker and William M. Landess, 160.
- Regional Research to Educational Uses, The Adaptation of. By Ellis F. Hartford and Maurice F. Seay, 185.
- Research Projects and Methods, 251, 309.
- Retarded Children, Social and Economic Background of. By Alice Bell Finlayson, 38.

Rohrbaugh, Lewis H. Measuring Group Behavior Dynamically, 3.

Rosenberg, Anna M. Women in National Defense, 287.

Rubinow, Raymond S. Money for Morale: Opportunities for Foundations, 404.

Ruch, Floyd L. The Problem of Measuring Morale, 221.

Rural Youth, Planning for. By Howard Y. McClusky, 554.

Schairer, Reinhold. What English War Education Teaches the World, 109.

Schneider, Florence Hemley. Defense and the Woman Worker, 260.

School and the Youth Hostel, The. By John and Mavis Biesanz, 55.

Schools and Colleges Serve in Total War. Special issue, February 1942, 317-380.

Seay, Maurice F., and Hartford, Ellis F. The Adaptation of Regional Research to Educational Uses, 185.

Secondary Education, Planning for. By Warren C. Seyfert, 546.

Seyfert, Warren C. Planning for Secondary Education, 546.

Shulman, Marshall D. Planetary Gangbusting, 394.

Snaveley, Guy E. The College in the Present Emergency, 330.

Social Services and Defense. By Paul V. Mc-Nutt, 69.

Soldier Town, The. By Raymond A. Hoyer, 486.

Sproul, J. Edward. The Contribution of Private Youth-Serving Organizations, 525.

Stroude, Alice Pauline. Reviewing the Results of Some Guidance Programs, 29.

Studebaker, John W. The United States Office of Education in Wartime, 320. Sutherland, Robert L. Planning for Negro

Youth, 562.

Taft, Charles P. Editorial, 445.

Taylor, Edmond. Danger Points on the Home Front, 242.

Tennessee River Valley, Its People, Resources, and Institutions, The. By William E. Cole and S. E. T. Lund, 130.

Thompson, Lorin A. Hampton Roads—A Boom Area, 473.

Towne, Carroll A.; Voltz, Philip W.; and Munger, George D. Education in the Adaptation of the Valley People to New Factors in the Environment, 174.

TVA Program—The Regional Approach to General Welfare, The. Special issue, November 1941, 129–192.

United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction, 119.

United States Office of Education in Wartime, The. By John W. Studebaker, 320.

Voltz, Philip W.; Munger, George D.; and Towne, Carroll A. Education in the Adaptation of the Valley People to New Factors in the Environment, 174.

Walker, Charles R. Youth and the Future, 566.

War, Education and the. Special issue, October 1941, 65-128.

War Education Teaches the World, What English. By Reinhold Schairer, 109.

War Industry Through the Schools, Training for. By J. O. Keller and H. G. Pyle, 352.

Wilson, Arthur Jess. Adult Education for Civilian Defense, 339.

Women in National Defense. Special issue, January 1942, 257–316.

Work Programs, Planning Postwar Youth. By Paul T. David, 537.

Youth and National Morale. By Delbert C. Miller, 17.

Youth and Postwar Reconstruction. Special issue, May 1942, 509-572.

Youth and the Future. By Charles R. Walker, 566.

Youth in Defense and Postdefense Periods. By Floyd W. Reeves, 93.

Youth-Serving Organizations, The Contribution of Private. By J. Edward Sproul, 525.

Zorbaugh, Harvey W. Preparatory Note (to Civilian Morale issue), 193.

